

Left and Democratic United Front— why it is so urgent?

Our party, SUCI has been urging upon the left and democratic parties and forces to forge a united front with clearly chalked out programme of democratic mass movement and a code of conduct for nearly a decade, this being the only line of defence as also to carry forward people's cause, ever since the crisis in moribund capitalist order has been accentuating beyond measures, the entire burden of which the people have been condemned to suffer in all spheres of their life, with no sight of relief. The parties calling themselves left and democratic and claiming to defend people's cause preferred not to respond to our repeated calls, in pursuit of their ambition in parliamentary politics, leaving the people defenceless. The crisis ridden bourgeoisie exploited or rather were allowed to exploit this weakness in left and democratic movement, which they have been doing by thrusting on the people further miseries and destitution, robbing them of their fundamental and inalienable civil and political rights and are now so audacious as to bring down under the garb of ESMO the most crude attack on the basic right to organise strike and other forms of movement which is essential for bare survival of the exploited people. Fascist danger is looming large and the present attack is only unfolding of a design, not an end in itself. Against this background, our beloved General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, has appealed once more to these parties for making a real measure of the danger and the disaster that will befall on the people and the country if not the bulwark of united powerful democratic mass movement is built up here and now. The matter cannot rest with the leaders of these parties alone but considering its gravity the rank and file members of these parties and the people at large should assert to choose between the two lines—ignominious surrender and service to moribund capitalism or united struggle to resist the lurking danger of fascism.

Nature of Crisis

The all out, all pervading crisis that people are witnessing in every sphere of their social life—economy, politics, ethics, morals, culture, sex and even in family life is neither a passing phase, nor something accidental. Nor is it true that the crisis or for that matter its accentuation is solely due to mismanagement or misdirection of the economy by the party in power as CPI(M) leaders, more particularly, are telling the people. To propagate this untruth serves the ruling class because it conceals the truth that the crisis stems basically from the moribund capitalist productive system and so the people cannot get rid of the crises so long this basic cause remains. It helps the party in question too because by shielding the ruling class and the system it wants to win the

confidence of the ruling class which will be reflected in parliamentary election. Finally, the party in question that does not tell the people the truth, the whole truth, skilfully arrests the struggle within the arena of parliamentary politics, so that extra-parliamentary mass struggle does not develop to rebuff the class offensives, even at a crucial time like now.

This is not to say or suggest that the Indira Gandhi Government being the trusted agent of the ruling bourgeoisie is not misdirecting and mishandling the country's economy. In fact, within nineteen months of its rule, it has earned the unique distinction both in inflation rate and in number of draconian ordinances promulgated. Taxburden too, has been raised via indirect taxes. It has not done even the minimum that

can be done within the system for the relief of the common people. It shirked its responsibility by raising the plea of dearth of money for funding of the scheme of supplying some essential commodities through public distribution system after introducing all out state trading in those articles of consumption both wholesale and retail to save the people from speculative hoarding and black marketing. But thousands of crores of rupees in the budget from tax revenue extorted from the poor people go to fund subsidies and subventions to the capitalists whether industrial or rural to maintain their rate of maximum profit. The government takes the plea of dearth of money whenever the question comes of providing the citizens with minimum welfare like extension of educational and medical facilities and even supply of drinking water in the villages. What can it do as most of the expenditures from budget go to defence, police and para-military forces and the top heavy administration! The crisis is so deep that the government is hard put to find resources both from home market and outside for these wasteful expenditures which nevertheless go on increasing.

But behind all these symptoms is the deeper and ever deeper crisis of the productive system itself. Capitalism as a world system is passing through third intense phase of general crisis, it is overall and all out and finds no way out. By the draconian measure, ESMO the bourgeoisie hopes to ease their problems by bringing attack on the wages and earnings of the people and therefore from an anticipatory move robs their right to organise strike and other forms of movement. But the fate of the measure tried umpteen times in the past and proved self-defeating will be the same this time too. A country (Contd. to page 2)

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Hands off Angola!

Apprehension has come true. The USA cast its veto in the UN Security Council on a third world resolution on South Africa's invasion of Angola. By this action, by lending support to the imperialist-racist regime of Pretoria, the US imperialism has once again exposed itself as the arch enemy of freedom, democracy and the people.

The proposed resolution vetoed by the USA strongly condemned South Africa "for its premeditated, unprovoked and persistent acts of aggression" against Angola, called for payment in full and adequate compensation to Angola and proposing imposition of "comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa".

The resolution sponsored by the 15 nation council, also provided that a commission of enquiry comprising three members of the council, be despatched to Angola "to undertake an on-the-spot evaluation and report to the council not later than September 30, 1981."

There is no exaggeration in the charge that there have been "persistent acts of aggression against Angola". The imperialist machinations and conspiratorial designs against Angola are nothing new. In fact, the attack launched by the South African army on Angola in July this year, is the latest of this kind.

In this regard, we like to quote from Proletarian Era, dated 1st January, 1976, where we mentioned that "The situation in Angola is quite disturbing. Angola attained independence on November 25,

1975, but the trials of the people of Angola did not end. The heroic people who conducted a protracted liberation struggle against imperialism to free their country from bondage cannot taste their freedom. Though Portugal which colonised Angola has totally withdrawn from Angola on November 25, yet this war-torn African country has now become the hot-bed of superpower politics and the Angolan people are used as cannon-fodder in the 'proxy war' between the superpowers in their bid to increase their spheres of influence in this continent."

We think that it would not be a travesty of truth, if any one after going through the facts and the pleas raised by the apartheid regime of Pretoria to defend their aggression, observes that still today the Angolan people are victims of a 'proxy war' between the superpowers.

The imperialist apartheid regime of Pretoria, in their attempt to justify the blatant aggression, as a plea referred to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

All must agree that neither this nor the other plea that its incursions into Angola are hot 'pursuit action' to weed out the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) guerrillas operating from Angolan soil, can in any way justify, far less support, the blatant imperialist attack led by the South African regime.

Despite that, since the presence of the army of pro-Soviet Cuba in Angola has become a much-talked of subject matter, one may (Contd. to page 7)

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where more than seventy percent of the people lives below the poverty line and has minimal purchasing power, the base of home market is bound to be low. Further attack on purchasing power of the people will reduce it and further squeeze the home market. And when the very motive force of production in capitalist economy is maximisation of profit by sale of products in the market, further squeezing of home market can only accentuate further the market crisis of the same very ruling capitalist class. Their urge for investment of capital will rather diminish instead of being increased as is evident from the fact that despite fiscal concessions galore, investment of capital is not picking up. But anyway whatever may be the fate of this self-defeating exercise, of inviting deeper crisis in the fanciful assumption of easing the present one, reality is this that thousands upon thousands, millions upon millions of the toiling people will have to pay the price in terms of their lives and livings if this new and most severe attack is not resisted by the might of a powerful movement embracing broadest sections of the people, growing, developing and consolidating as a sustained one, step by step from the grass root level. Sporadic programme, show of programme will be of no avail, rather they will only help the bourgeoisie to carry through its class design which can not be in the present situation, anything other than all out fascism. Whether they will do it maintaining the facade of parliamentary system or replacing it by an out-right Presidential form of government the state of existence of the toiling people will not vary, they will be reduced to slaves with no human rights, not even the right to protest and organise that protest.

Herein lies the dimension of the danger. Those who try to minimise the danger for petty parliamentary

On the plea of SUCI's 'criticism' CPI(M) obstructs united movement at this crucial hour

politics are guilty not only of objectively inviting this fascist danger to be a reality but of pushing even their rank and file members along with people at large—democratic minded, freedom loving, patriotic people of the country, to be victims to this danger. One may think otherwise but that can not alter the reality as the lesson of history teaches us.

United front of left and democratic parties— CPI (M)'s opposition

Now to repeat the words Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our General Secretary, has spelt out in his letter of August 31 to the left and democratic parties—"under the circumstance, we strongly feel that in order to thwart the nefarious design of the capitalist class and their representative in power, Smt Gandhi, it is incumbent on all right thinking, democratic minded and freedom loving people to develop a countrywide counter current of democratic movement in our country'. Can any right thinking person hold a different view? But, of all the parties, CPI (M) shows vehement opposition to SUCI taking part in any united movement, whatever may be the cause to defend, but is ready to align itself with a particular group of INTUC in West Bengal, the trade union wing of the Congress (I), in the name of fighting ESMO. But this is the only central trade union which is giving vociferous support to the measure. Now why this opposition of CPI (M) to SUCI, why it is so virulent, so blind as not to see the threat of fascism and learn the concrete experiences of history as to the cost that had to be paid for want of a united and effective resistance in time?

They are talking about our 'crime' of causing disruption in the left unity and of the movement by conducting ideological-political struggle, involving the masses. This is not for the first time that they are raising the same plea in their effort to isolate us. Our party, under the leadership of our teacher, guide, and founder General Secretary, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh answered adequately to this charge, if it is at all a charge against the revolutionaries. We need not go into the details but simply want to remind them that their conception of "all-unity, no-struggle" in united movement is as fallacious and non-Marxist as the concept of "all-struggle and no-unity". From Marx, Lenin, Mao tse-Tung to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh all great teachers of the working class have shown that we unite with those who can be united against the common enemy at a given moment, on a clearcut programme of action and on a definite code of conduct. What is this code of conduct in the united movement, which our party alone has been demanding and the CPI (M) refusing to accept? This code of conduct is for maintaining the unity of the movement against the common enemy but without surrendering the right to conduct ideological political struggle within the movement to save the very movement from being misled and for clarity of the people, not only in ideological-political ethical moral spheres but in the organisational sphere too.

That is why we reminded them, when they posed the question in West Bengal to disintegrate the nine party combination in 1975 that:

"Those who understand dialectical materi-

alism Marxism-Leninism, all know that unity means there is struggle and contradiction within it. Unity having no struggle and contradiction within it is an idea alien to Marxism. That there is a definite entity, its very existence means, there is struggle and contradiction within it. Then why this unity despite struggle and contradiction within? Because within the struggle and contradiction, there is the urge for, need for unity. But despite unity there is at the same time relentless struggle and contradiction too between the opposite forces.

Similarly, united movement, is a distinct phenomenon, within it there is difference and contradiction centering round different political outlooks and lines of the parties. It is because of this difference between the parties, there is the need and therefore the talks for united front. And because of difference in political lines, of opinions among the political parties these are bound to have their reflection in the united movement.

.....If for criticism and analytical exposure of wrong political stand and behaviours of a party, its leaders are put to difficulty and embarrassment before their rank and file and the people at large, they may call it 'hostile criticism.' But simply because they call it so, for reasons entirely of their own, will a criticism, a justified criticism be so? Then the question revolves round the basic question: if their political stand and behaviours, in our consideration, are definitely harmful, shall we have no right to criticise those, for this criticism creates difficulties for the leaders? If this proposition of theirs is accepted then how can the correct political line in the mass movement

be determined and followed. Only those who want to bypass this all-important question of determining correct political line for the united mass movement can oppose open ideological political struggle within the united movement"

[Free translation from the booklet "Disintegration of unity of nine parties and CPI(M)'s propaganda—A few words' (in Bengali), 24th April, 1975].

With modesty we may say that we have stood the test, taught and guided by our beloved teacher and guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, of upholding the Marxist principles and ethical norm of striving most for unity while not relaxing for a moment the ideological political struggle in the very interest of the movement. If anybody takes pleasure that no left parties are with us we do not know whose guilt it is or how he scores his point. If he is not already aware of the answer, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has left for them, we will repeat that later but let them have it first from Lenin!

"The intensification of the struggle of reformism against revolutionary social-democracy (Lenin used the term 'social democracy' when it did not carry the present meaning—Editor P. Era) within the working class movement is an absolutely inevitable result of the changes in the entire economic and political situation throughout the civilised world..... we can not conceive of the social revolution being accomplished by the proletariat without this struggle, without clear demarcation on questions of principles.....without a complete break between the opportunist, petty-bourgeois elements and the proletarian revolutionary elements of the new historic force during this revolution.

....To work tirelessly, in the changed situation, to propagate the idea of revolution and to prepare the forces of the working class for it—that, from

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Interception of Mail and Telephone Tapping tramples under foot Civil and Political Rights

In the last week of August, a notice for a privilege motion against the Union Minister for Communications, Mr. C. M. Stephen, was given by an opposition M P. in the Rajya Sabha for intercepting and tampering with his mail during the the past three months. Notices for breach of privilege on similar ground were given in the Lok Sabha too by some opposition M P s. It was reported in the press that on August 28, Mr. Balaram Jakhar, the Lok Sabha Speaker, ruled that censoring of mail of the members of Parliament and tapping of their telephones would not amount to a breach of privilege of the members. In support of his ruling, Mr. Jakhar cited two rulings as precedents based on Section 26 of the Post Office Act of 1889. (report in the Statesman, dated 29.8.81)

In the Rajya Sabha, the Deputy Chairman of the House read out the ruling of Chairman, Mr. M Hidayatullah which upheld the government's right to intercept and censor the mail of MPs. Mr. Hidayatullah, too cited old rulings to defend the government's action. He ruled that the laws of the land applied equally to all citizens and there was no difference between MPs and other citizens of the country. Mr. Stephen said on the floor that such actions of intercepting with the mails and telephone communication was not a monopoly of the Congress Governments. Similar action was being taken by the non-Congress Governments in the states of Kerala, Tamilnadu, West Bengal and Tripura and that it was resorted to with redoubled vigour when Janata Government was in power (report in the Statesman dated 1.9.81).

If this is the plight of the elected representatives of the people who enjoy some special rights and

privileges, what then is the position of the common man in this respect? The ordinary citizens, the people, no less than a member of a legislature, have a right of privacy in their correspondence and communication. The right to privacy, although not explicitly included in the fundamental rights in the constitution, was recognised by the Supreme Court as a fundamental right associated with liberty of expression and movement, while disapproving of police surveillance of released prisoners in the case of Govind vs. State of M. P. But in spite of this, in practice, the people's freedom of expression and communication is being trampled upon daily, as a matter of routine, by the governments at the Centre and in the states. Only the other day in our issue dated 1st of July 1981, we cited a glaring instance in a report that the DIG (Intelligence) in the state of Karnatak, through an order, recently instructed the post offices of Shinoga District to systematically intercept the mails and telegrams of 35 persons including lawyers, press reporters, teachers, trade union and political leaders! Our experiences even in the states with "Left Front" run Governments led by the CPI(M) are not good.

It is a matter of grave concern and against that such a cardinal issue affecting basic civil liberties of the people has been considered to be a routine matter of procedure and perfunctorily dealt with on the floor of the Houses and interception and surveillance sought to be justified on the strength of this or that precedent, a clause of an Act of the last century which is a legacy of colonialism and on the plea that the non-Congress Governments in some states too are indulging in such nefarious practices. Have those in

the government forgotten that hated Acts and statutes such as the Post Office Act were used by the British imperialists to crush the freedom movement in the country? The independence movement had to fight tooth and nail against such undemocratic repressive laws all through and was in that sense struggle for restoration of civil liberties and democratic rights to the people. And today, after three decades of independence, such draconian practices are not only being admitted with impunity but even justified as natural and inherent right of the government!

This gross infringement upon the freedom of communication is not an isolated phenomenon. Today, the fundamental rights, the democratic rights are being curtailed and trampled upon all the time. Apart from brutally crushing the democratic movements, arrest and detention by police without any trial, without even framing charges, institution of thousands of false cases by the police against the participants in democratic movements on fictitious charges, constant police surveillance, spying harassment of them and police torture and through these, total denial of freedom of political activities are daily occurrences. This is because whoever today tries to serve the ruling bourgeoisie from government has no option but to more and more curb the democratic rights of the people and to negate the democratic norms in administration and public affairs. Capitalism today is a reactionary, moribund, crisis-ridden world force which has little use for democratic institutions, rights and norms, more so in a relatively backward capitalist country like India. The ruling bourgeoisie of this country, in order to lengthen their exploitative class rule, are taking resort to fascist measures one

after another, are aiming towards fascism. On the one hand they are trying to pass the whole burden of capitalist crisis in the economy on to the shoulders of the working class through price rises, fiscal policy and taxation measures in successive budgets while on the other hand, through draconian measures like NSA and ESMO, they are out to crush all organised expression of mass discontent, police surveillance, spying and interception of mails and telephones all have a place in the overall scheme to try to perpetuate bourgeois class rule.

Years back, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our beloved leader and teacher, gave a comprehensive analysis of colonial legacy in police highhandedness, its further growth and erosion or whatever administrative neutrality that used to be there. In Comrade Ghosh's words: "Take a common issue. The old rules and norms of the colonial police system are still in force in police administration of our country. Nobody bothers about these. I must admit to you frankly that when the leftists came into governmental power (in West Bengal), I have tried to tell them repeatedly through our party that they cannot achieve a lot within the present state structure, economic and social framework. But they should at least try to change the customs and mode of conduct which are legacies of colonial Police system but which still persist in the conduct of the police force in our country even after freedom. It is possible to change these even within the framework of a bourgeois state. Take the USA, an imperialist country whom we call "butcher". Take Britain—a capitalist country again. But the way the police misbehaves with the workers of democratic movements, with the citizens in our country is not to be found anywhere else. The traditions of the British days when the police, being the protectors of law, used to trample

the laws themselves in consultation with the landlords and their agents (Naibs)—these traditions not only still persist but have grown..... That is, those who are supposed to protect laws, are themselves putting foot down upon the laws. They are framing false charges against the people round the clock. The press and people know, the political leaders too know—how work is done in police stations. First they arrest one, and then they decide under which section charges are to be framed against him on that basis. Charge under which section can be framed against him so that he will not get bail and come out, is decided and fabricated at the police station by those who are the protectors of law!..... A simple thing: if there be no decency in the conduct of the administration of a country, especially in a major component of administration like the police, if there be no serious concern about the laws, if there be no outlook of neutrality even in the relative sense and if police administration is not guided by a democratic outlook sympathetic to the people—where will then the democracy be in the country?.....

.....Not to speak of socialism, what has been achieved towards attaining even the minimum basic tenets of bourgeois democracy in the past twenty six years? Congress could not feed the people, could not solve the economic crisis. It is a party of the capitalist class, the bourgeois class and that is why it is not possible for it to accomplish these task. They do not understand socialism, they cannot do these things. But they do claim to be honest people and democrats. Although bourgeois, they are democrats after all! In that case, if they have even the minimum of concern for honest, democratic norms, they should have taken serious notice how the police of the country, whom they have made guardians of law and order misuse their power day in

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Inside West Bengal Assembly

Our Amendment—'ESMO will not be applied in West Bengal' not accepted by 'Left Front'

On 4th September 81, an unofficial resolution on ESMO moved by the 'Left Front' was passed in the West Bengal Assembly. A separate resolution on the same subject submitted by Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar, leader of the SUCI legislature party was not taken up by the 'Left Front' Government and instead they brought the resolution. While supporting the resolution moved by the 'Left Front', Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar moved an amendment for incorporation. He proposed to add the following portion to the original resolution on ESMO:

"(And the House) at the same time declares that until the Central Government repeals this ordinance the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal will never apply

it against the workers and employees in this state and even will not give the Central Government police and administrative help on any pretext whatsoever if the Central Government tries to apply this ordinance against any worker or employee in any of its office or establishment within this state." But this amendment was not accepted. When the SUCI members demanded vote on it, it was found that only the four members of SUCI voted for it and all the 'Left Front' members voted against it. So the amendment was lost.

It can be mentioned in this context that the Janata Party while supporting the 'Left Front' resolution moved an amendment to the original text replacing the portion—"snatching away of the workers'

right to strike will not be allowed" with "(the House) is unitedly protesting against scrapping the fundamental rights". This amendment was moved clearly to soften the resolution lest the text in the original resolution in any way expresses a spirit of confrontation with and defiance to the Central law and angers the Madam. The amendment was then and there accepted by the 'Left Front'. In an effort to rationalise this spinelessness, the Labour Minister Mr. Krishnapada Ghosh said that they wanted to abide by the resolution, true to the letters! It may be recalled in this connection that just a few days ago the Labour Minister of the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal declared in New Delhi, while attending the State Labour Ministers'

Conference that they, i.e. the 'Left Front' Government, would not oblige the Indian Government by applying the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance in the state.

But hardly a couple of days passed when the Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu got a sunbathing from the Prime Minister, the same Labour Minister, as the newspaper report goes, denied of having made such utterance! Is there then an iota of doubt as to the fact that other than making some verbal protests, the CPI (M)

and its associates will not do anything in their 'fight' against ESMO that may cause dissatisfaction of Smt. Gandhi and her Government? Had there been still any scope for doubt in this regard, 'Left Front' Government's refusal to accept our amendment that contained what the Labour Minister was reported to have announced in New Delhi leaves no ground for it. It shows that without causing anger to Smt. Gandhi's Government CPI (M) wants to fight 'authoritarianism'!

Adjournment motion against firing and killing at Taherpur, Nadia

Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar the SUCI leader in the West Bengal Assembly moved an adjournment motion in the Assembly on 2nd September last strongly protesting against the incident of indiscriminate firing and killing of two persons by the police at Taherpur, Nadia district on 31st August last. Like on all other previous occasions this time too the Hon'ble Speaker allowed him simply to read out the motion but not to speak on it. The motion read: "On 31.8.81 last police killed a cyclist named Sri Dharendra Nath Chatterjee firing point blank through his head and in consequence when local people assembled there protesting it police again wildly fired upon to disperse them. As a result, one Sri

Kasinath Chakraborty was killed and other two seriously injured. If such type of atrocities and misuse of power by the police is not strictly dealt with the consequence will be dangerous. So, we demand institution of impartial and public inquiry, bringing to book the guilty police personnel and meting out exemplary punishment to them, giving adequate compensation to the affected families of the killed and wounded persons. And for a discussion of these the House should stand adjourned today".

The Chief Minister gave a perfunctory reply in his statement where he said that the police were helpless, however, a departmental enquiry would be made.

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and day out by trampling upon laws. But they are not this. Rather, the police whose daily practice has become to take people into custody and beat them up—when the excesses of this police reach a stage that there are protests from the public, even then to support and back them up is the kind of administrative scruple of the Congress leaders!

(Excerpts from speech delivered on 24th April, 1973. Free translation ours—Ed. P. Era).

How true and significant are these words of Comrade Ghosh in the present context! Although the phenomenon of continuous curtailment of individual right and civil liberties is a feature common to all capitalist countries, in the old established capitalist countries (Contd. to page 5)

Walk-out against Police repression on Electricity Workers holding demonstration against ESMO

On 10th September last Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar, leader of the SUCI legislature party, West Bengal Assembly moved an adjournment motion in the Assembly, condemning the unprovoked lathi charge injuring nineteen (19) workers and arrest of five demonstrators at the head office of the West Bengal State Electricity Board (WBSEB) on 9th Sept. '81. The adjournment motion read "When all left and democratic minded people all over the country are protesting against robbing of trade union rights and ESMO this unprovoked lathi charge on and arrest of the workers of State Electricity Board who are also conducting movement on the same issue is really most unexpected. So the House be adjourned for

discussing such an important issue involving public interest and on the demand of immediate impartial enquiry in the said police atrocity over electricity workers, immediate and unconditional release of the arrested workers and giving proper punishment to the guilty police officials'.

As this adjournment motion like other on other occasions was rejected the SUCI members in the House walked out in protest against it. Before staging walk out Comrade Sarkar told the House: "While the 'Left Front' has called for Bangla Bandh on 11th September against promulgation of ESMO and just a few days ago a resolution demanding withdrawal of it has been passed in this House 'Left Front' Government's police made lathi-charge on the Electricity Board workers yesterday when

the workers participated in a movement against that very ESMO

In protest against such political double dealing of the 'Left Front' Government and against the unbridled attack of the police and recurrent rampant misuse of power by them in recent times in the state testified also by the recent incident of shooting to death two in Taherpur and two in Darjeeling by the police, we leave this House for the day."

Correction

Our last issue, Vol. 15, No. 2, of September 3, '81 carried mistakenly the caption "President, Bangalore City Committee, SFI joins SUCI" Comrade B. R. Manju Nath has joined the AIDS. The error is regretted very much.—Editorial Board Proletarian Era.

Bandh in West Bengal—Our party's role and activities

Since the promulgation of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance by the Centre our party, SUCI, has been consistently trying to build up united and organised protest of the toiling people against this black Ordinance throughout India. In our previous issues we have published some reports from different states concerning these. In West Bengal where all attempts for united resistance even at the TU level against this black act had foundered due to CPI(M)'s stubborn opposition, declaring its willingness to take up united programme even with a section of the Congress(I) led INTUC, if need be, but on no account with SUCI, our party has been sparing no efforts to organise people in movement against the EMSO on its own and has chalked out a series of programmes to that end. On 11th September our party called for a Bangla Bandh, on the same day the 'Left Front' Government had called for Bangla Bandh. To make the Bandh successful and bring home to the people that bandh is not an end in itself but a part of mass movement—a form of organised mass protest, our party launched extensive campaign programme throughout West Bengal, which included wall writings, literature sale, processions and demonstrations, street corner and mass meetings. To mention but a few: On 31st August, at many different street corners of Calcutta and throughout the districts exhibitions on fascism were organised displaying quotations of our beloved leader, teacher and guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, from his penetrating and detailed analysis of fascism in the economic-political and cultural sphere. These were accompanied by street corner meetings throughout the day where different speakers highlighted the exact nature of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance before the people, and showed that EMSO was not merely a move to deprive workers

and toiling people of wage increase, or bonus while giving all sorts of concessions to the capitalist class but a very dangerous means of bringing the country nearer to fascism and breaking the resistance of toiling people against savage exploitation and all sorts of injustice. They appealed to the people to realise the urgency of the situation and come forward with their active help and participation in these programmes of organised mass protest.

From 31st August onwards almost every day street corner meetings or mass meetings were held throughout the state right up to 11th September, the day of Bandh. On 5th, 7th, 8th and on 9th September especially street corner and mass meetings were organised on a very extensive scale as a statewide programme. These mass meetings were also addressed by state and district leaders of our

party. In every speech the point that was highlighted was that these most authoritarian measure is not an end in itself but, just preparatory to bringing all out fascism in the country. And this danger can only be met by organising people's united movement into irresistible force. Today only our party, SUCI, is left in West Bengal to lead the people in these movements, all other parties have abandoned the people and are engaged in parliamentary mock fight.

On the day of Bandh numerous street corner meetings were organised by our party in different localities in Calcutta as also in the districts. On that day, too, extensive door to door sale of our party bulletin found great appreciation among the people. The bulletin highlighted the true nature of the ordinance in the background of poli-

tical situation, exposed the hideous design of the ruling class to gain popular support or social sanction for the same by creating confusion and resorting to sheer falsehood.

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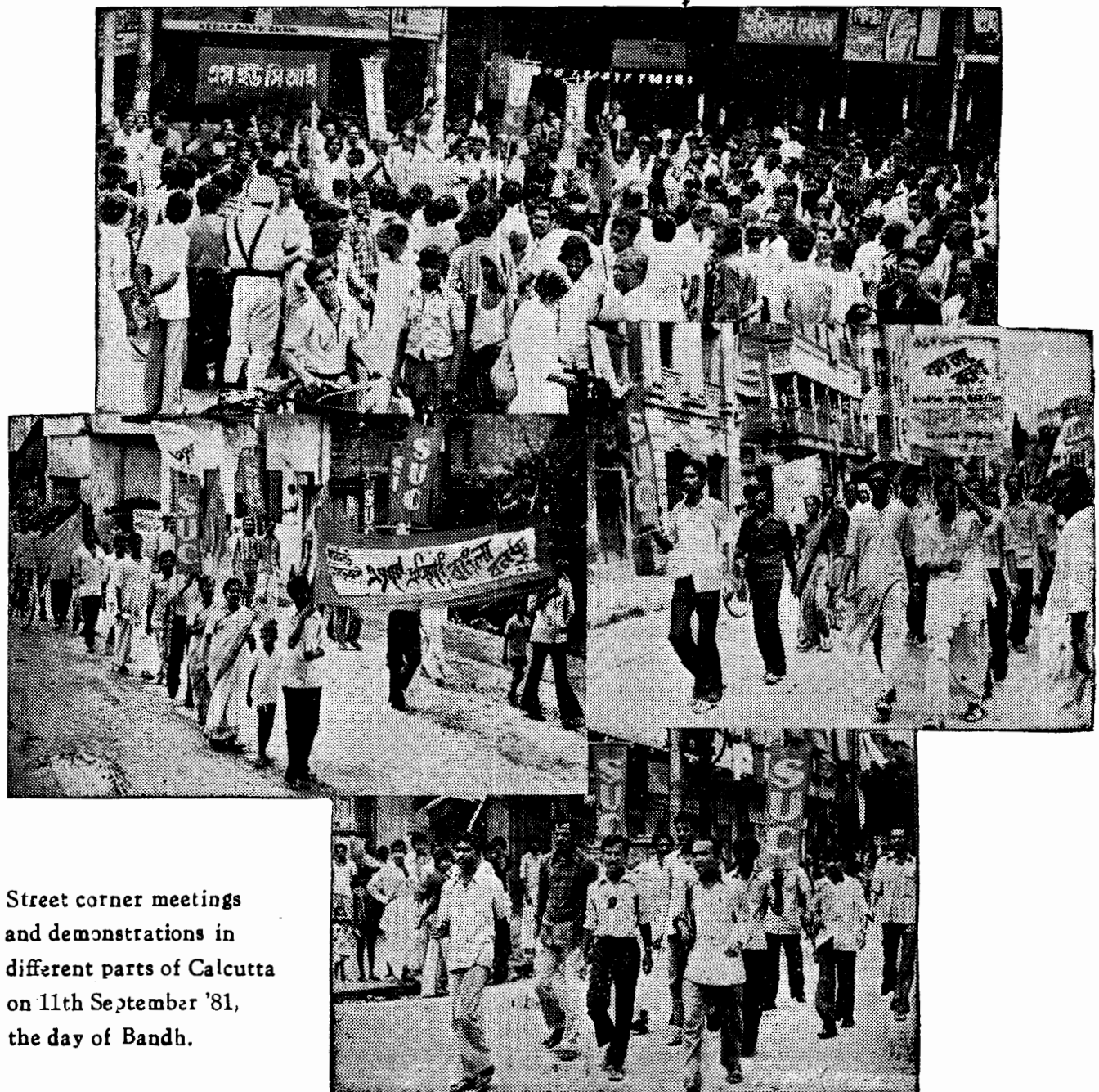
(Contd. from page 4) due to long tradition of bourgeois democracy and there was public uproar even in the arch imperialist country USA against the Watergate scandal and forced the "all powerful" President Nixon to step down.

But in India, where capitalism developed in the era of proletarian revolution when capitalism as a world force had already become reactionary, the Indian bourgeoisie due to their fear-complex of revolution, did not carry forward the task of democratisation of the society. That is why democratic institutions, traditions and norms have not struck deep roots in

Below we are giving some pictures of the street corner meetings etc. organised by our party on the day of Bangla Bandh giving a glimpse of the large gatherings.

the society. The bourgeois and pseudo-left parties and politicians may occasionally protest against this or that undemocratic measure when they are in opposition, when they themselves suffer and feel the pinch, but when the same politicians come into government, they use the administration and police against their opponents in the same undemocratic fashion throwing all scruples to the winds. They do these from petty parliamentary interest, and not from sincere urge to uphold civil liberties. But can the people leave it at that? What remains if

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Street corner meetings and demonstrations in different parts of Calcutta on 11th September '81, the day of Bandh.

The danger of all out Fascism looms large over the country

(Contd. from page 2)

the standpoint of the reformists, is the chief crime of the RSDLP (the then name of CPSU—Editor, P. Era) that is what constitutes the *guilt* of the revolutionary proletariat."

—"Reformism in Russian Social-Democratic Movement"—Marx-Engels Marxism, italics in the original)

What happens if this accepted principles of ideological struggle and norms of Marxism are denied? Other than the real revolutionary party that never surrenders the working class politics, other parties who claim to have separate identities and distinctly different ideological-political lines surrender their rights, their ideologies, if at all they have any, to the dictate of a 'big party' and clings to its coat tail for the exigency of parliamentary politics. They clamour their 'unity' but it is superficial unity at the top between the leaders centering round distribution of powers and privileges of bourgeois parliamentary politics and has nothing to do with uniting the toiling people, organising them for united mass struggle on correct political line. This 'unity' between the leaders of these parties, the unity of their political stand and behaviours is so 'sacred' that it demands unquestionable obedience, even if that means leading the oppressed masses to the bourgeois trap, to the false hope of reformism, relinquishing struggle when not only the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie mounts their most savage attack but conspire to bring all-out fascism.

No, SUCI has never and will never accede to this concept of unity that demands surrender of its right to thrash out ideological-political differences through ideological struggle and to cement further this unity. Nor can SUCI forsake its independence as a party of the proletariat to prepare the working people for anti-capitalist socialist revolution

which in our considered view, is the correct base political line for their emancipation. So, when we talk of revolution, emancipation of the masses, of society, the correct strategy and tactics, we really mean them, they are not for hanging sign boards for the benefit of a few leaders. That is why, when we conduct ideological-political struggle, sharpen it, it is for saving the united movement from misdirection, for clarity in politics, for unity of the toiling masses on the basis of higher ethics and culture, for correct line. As Marxists we cannot relinquish this task. That is why our criticism, from within the united movement has always been on ideological plane, analytical, based on facts, impersonal but never slander, personal vilification, concoction of stories which, though unfortunate, the CPI(M) leaders and journals are used to.

CPI(M) leadership, particularly in West Bengal, says that their opposition to SUCI is for its 'crime' that it criticises the policies of 'left front' government and even organises movement and so it is guilty of opposing 'leftism'. Before going into the question, may we humbly remind them that the Janata Party, Congress(U), Lok Dal, BJP and even the ruling party at the Centre, Congress(I) are not surely leftist parties but why then the CPI(M) has no objection to align with them? Are not these parties opposed to leftism? Do they not criticise the CPI(M) led government in the state and even sometimes give call for some collective actions as show of movement? Yes they do all this. The CPI(M) does not find any difficulty to include CPI in their 'Left Front' but it is still in public memory that not too long ago it used to hurl filthy epithets against the latter and questioned the latter's credential as a leftist party.

Then again, practically the nonexistent political parties like the WSP and DSP also find their place in the front. So, united movement is not a matter of concern for CPI(M), what concerns them most is the exigency of election politics. Their talk of and concern for leftism are just show, they do not mean it. Is it not clear that the CPI(M) leadership is differentiating SUCI's opposition to their politics from that of these parties with whom they try to combine at the national and state plane to build up their 'left and democratic' alternative in bourgeois parliamentary politics as against the repeated proposals of our party to forge a united front of genuine left and democratic parties as a broad platform of struggle of the oppressed masses? And this alone can build up strong movement against savage exploitation of moribund capitalism and the danger of fascism. But the fun is this that they try to bracket our party with these parties whenever any decision or step they take from the government is criticised by us in the legislature.

Can they hide then or rather give open admission to the fact that SUCI's opposition is qualitatively different from that of these parties to them? Their quarrel, contention and collusion with these parties are all for as to who among them will come to governmental power, serve the bourgeois class interests, keep the oppressed people away from the path of such struggles and movements that may lead to revolution by injecting in them false hope of reformism. By dint of this service to the ruling capitalist class in crisis, they all aspire to enjoy powers and privileges in bourgeois politics. SUCI on the other hand, is to stand by the side of the common people who are being crushed by the wheel of capitalist exploitation and face the

danger of fascism. SUCI is calling upon the toiling millions not to be deceived by this false hope of reformism but to unite and build up their parallel political power to bring an end to their slavery. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh summed up this political reality of our country when he said:

"All these parties, even those carrying the appellation of leftism are in a conspiracy to isolate SUCI, politically. They calculate that when this party is already facing repressions and tortures, brought down on it by the ruling Congress-CPI combination, they from other side, by their combined pressure, will isolate SUCI. They want SUCI to surrender to their election be-all-and-end-all politics, their politics of stunt, politics to become ministers and big boss, politics to degrade their workers to cowards and opportunists. We can never surrender to this combined pressure politics. For, we see and are well aware how this politics of these parties are not only making their own party workers but the workers of the left movement in general, spineless and privilege seekers in whole of West Bengal.

..... These parties have, therefore, thrown a challenge to us and we must take it up courageously."

—(Free translation from the Suri speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, June 21, 1975).

Now a few words against their charge that SUCI is opposing leftism as it is opposing the policies of CPI(M) led government in West Bengal. Is not their way of arguing analogous to that of Smt. Indira Gandhi who often accuses the opposition parties of standing against democracy and socialism which she claims to stand for?

So, when SUCI opposes the repressive measures brought down on mass movement of toiling workers and peasants,

when a government claiming itself 'left', orders firing on the dock workers, sends more than a thousand armed police to silence the agitation of workers in Santaldih, when it re-enacts the ghastly scenes of Jalianwalabagh in Marichhanpi against the hapless refugees, when it robs the freedom and autonomy of the educational institution, when it adopts the language policy of abolition of English teaching from primary stage calculated to confine higher education further within the affluent families, when SUCI opposes the crime of lulling the poor peasants and workers with some doles and empty prospect of reformism at this stage of crisis of capitalism, when it opposes abject surrender and slavery of the ministry to the capitalists, police and bureaucracy so much so that the hoarders and black marketeers find the state a paradise,—can it be held guilty of opposing leftism or just the reverse? Is not SUCI holding aloft the banner of leftism when others have thrown it to the dust for parliamentary careerism and privileges? People are the best judge—'people' not of rigged elections, but those who see with their own eyes that not for a single moment this party SUCI has relaxed in its efforts to unite the toiling people against the savageries of capitalist exploitation, against the looming danger of all out fascism.

Now just a few words in passing. Leftism or left trend in politics, of our country, particularly in West Bengal, is not new, it has a definite meaning or tradition and a long history as well. By leftism, it has always been meant, holding high the banner of struggle in defence of the interest of the working people, democratic rights and values. In fact the very essence of leftism or left movement is to stand by the side of the exploited people, organise them in

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like to throw some light
on this issue.

It was just on the eve of Angola's victory in independence struggle after a hard long battle that the Cuban army entered Angola on the plea of helping the latter in her fight against the outside South African and Zaire invaders and deal the *coup d'etate* to the forces of FNLA, UNITA etc. (anti-Soviet nationalist forces of Angola). Now after playing a role in a short cut to the end of the war and an MPLA (Soviet-backed nationalist party in power) victory, the Cubans instead of withdrawing decided to stay for continuing an accelerated training programme for building up a modern Angolan army and providing various other types of aids.

Whenever the question of Cuban withdrawal was raised from any quarter, the usual reply was, had the Cubans withdrawn then Angola would have been invaded by Zaire and South Africa. Thus, once Castro observed that, "If we had continued to withdraw at that point, Angola would have been invaded by Zaire and South Africa. This has not happened and the Cuban presence in Angola is the reason".

(New York Times, December 7, 1977).

So, a Cuban exit did not seem likely in the foreseeable future.

The issue raises certain fundamental questions.

Can a foreign army protect the sovereignty and freedom of any country or is such a plea at all justified? If on the same plea any imperialist power in collusion with the ruling clique of a country keeps its army there, then will the freedom loving people support it? In the existing international situation where hegemonism, interference, intrigue and intervention and even invasion by foreign army have become widespread phenomena, will it not create tension in the neighbouring region and invite interference by the alien forces and powers? Is it in conformity with

The Unity of Angolan people—the only guarantee to defend sovereignty and defeat super-power manoeuvres

the policy of peaceful co-existence and principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of a country? It is worth remembering in this connection, as we pointed out in our pages times without number, that imposition of revolution is not only non-Marxist in as much as it denies the basic Marxist concept of revolution which unleash popular upsurge, that is to say, involvement of the toiling people in shaping out their own destiny but what is more dangerous, it provides handle to imperialist intervention to crush revolutionary movement and even national freedom movement. Today what is happening in Angola and other states in Africa shows that warning has come true. Who other than the Soviet revisionists clique will answer for this? This apart, there is another crucial aspect of the issue.

At present the Soviet revisionist leadership is engaged in establishing and extending its hegemony in different parts of Asia and Africa. To fulfil this aim it has gone to the extent of naked military intervention in Afghanistan. For obvious reasons, many countries of Asia and Africa have become apprehensive of the policy and activities of the Soviet revisionist leadership. Now, of late in many countries Cuba has earned the name of 'Trojan horse' of the Soviet revisionist leadership for the naked pro-Sovietism of her regime. Many people think that it is Cuba and the Cuban army which is entrusted with the task of protecting the interest of the Soviet revisionist leadership in different parts of Africa. In such a situation, it is quite likely that the presence of Cuban army in Angola will generate apprehension and suspicion in the neighbouring region.

This, however, does in no way justify, far less support, aggression launched by the South African troops. Of course we know that when the object is to interfere into the internal affairs of a country or invade any country, the imperialists need no plea at all.

And in this regard what we like to emphasise firmly is that it is always the people of a country and not the foreign army who through their struggle ultimately succeed to frustrate all the heinous imperialist designs of interference, intrusion and intrigue thereby protecting their freedom and sovereignty. The revolutionary forces of other countries and the Socialist states must not, of course, remain as passive spectators. In support of the people fighting against the imperialist forces, they must take every opportunity to unmask and corner the imperialists. By mobilising and mounting world opinion against them and by putting effective diplomatic pressure through diplomatic channel they must try to put the imperialists in the tight corner and thereby thrust upon them the principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of a country. So those who really stand by the policy of peaceful co-existence and the principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of a country do never commit any act that make the path easier for the imperialist forces to perpetrate the game of intrigue and conspiracy against any country or interfere into the internal affairs of a country.

But what is our experience of the Soviet revisionist leadership? During the struggle for independence in Angola, in the past, it was they

who gave good bye to the principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of a country and made the path easier for the imperialist forces headed by the US imperialist to penetrate into the struggles of people of this country, and perpetrate their heinous conspiratorial activities against them. And even to day, the Angolan people are victims of the same imperialist game of intrigue and conspiracy.

In the Proletarian Era, of 1st Jun, 1976 issue, referred to earlier, we have analysed and shown in detail how the Soviet involvement caused division among the people of Angola and the imperialist powers took advantage of the growing disunity among the people and jumped into the Angolan scene to frustrate the long cherished dream of the Angolan people. Let alone cementing the unity of the nationalist forces to present a united face against imperialism, the policy of the Soviet revisionist leadership in reality paved the path of disunity in Angola much to the glee of the imperialist forces which since then are engaged in conspiracy against the present regime of Angola. Thus, it is no secret that both Washington and Pretoria have ardently supported the "Union for the Total Independence of Angola", a group inspired and aided by the imperialist forces and aimed at dislodging the existing regime of Angola.

The underlying significance of the present attack by the South African troops, therefore, becomes clear if one takes into account what we have observed earlier in connection with the struggle of Angolan people for independence.

Now, in such a critical moment as at present the freedom loving people of different

countries have a two-fold task before them. They will have to mobilise and organise public opinion against this imperialist aggression launched on the people of Angola. They must mobilise world opinion against all the imperialist forces headed by the US imperialists, the bastion of world reaction, the arch enemy of world revolution. If they sincerely desire to protect the sovereignty and freedom then they must have to resist all sorts of imperialist machinations, intrigue and conspiratorial designs.

Side by side, their task has another aspect. Revisionism, particularly Soviet revisionism, is the main danger of the world revolution. Soviet hegemonism is posing a threat to the revolutionary movement in different countries. The attempts of the Soviet revisionist leadership to extend their spheres of influence are objectively paving the path to the imperialist aggression, interference, intrigue and conspiracy. So, if they sincerely desire to give defeat to the imperialist forces, once for all, they must expose Soviet revisionism, try earnestly to free the people from its influence and resist Soviet hegemonism.

The people of Angola, if they sincerely desire to give defeat to the imperialist forces, will have to forge the broadest possible unity of the freedom loving democratic minded people of the country.

Angolan people will have to bear in mind that unless their country is kept aloof from the sphere of super-power contention for hegemony and unless they can build up and maintain unity of all the patriotic, freedom loving people, their struggle to protect freedom and sovereignty will fail to reach the logical end.

They must note that the freedom loving people of different countries stand by their side in their just struggle for fulfilling this task.

If they can achieve what, in our opinion, they will have to, ultimate victory will be theirs.

IN ASSAM

Trade Union Convention SUCI alone holding aloft the banner of Leftism in Gouhati

Gouhati, 9th Sept. '81 :

Under the auspices of four Central Trade Unions in Assam—UTUC (Lenin Sarani), CITU, AITUC and BMS as also different Government, non-Government employees unions, a trade unions convention was held at the Gouhati District Library Hall on 6th September last against price rise and the black ordinance ESMO. Nearly two and a half thousand workers and employees participated in the convention. Comrade Bimal Nandi addressed the meeting on behalf of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) among other speakers.

An unanimously adopted resolution urged

upon the working class of Assam to successfully implement the programme of All India Protest Day and Parliament March during its winter session as chalked out at the Bombay convention held on 4th June '81. Besides it was decided to hold similar workers and employees convention in all districts of Assam within a month.

The open session of the convention was held at the Nabin Bardoli Hall compound. On behalf of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Comrade Bhupen Kakti was the speaker in the meeting. Comrade Manowar Hossain was among the presidium in the meeting.

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united democratic movement against capitalist exploitation and tyranny but never to leave them, ideologically, politically, organisationally uneducated, unorganised and defenceless before the mounting class offensives. To leave the people defenceless in an hour of grave crisis of moribund capitalism is not leftism but a slur on leftist credential. Our party can not allow this position to be exploited by the reactionary forces to demolish the base of Left movement in the state of West Bengal, grown up through countless struggles and sacrifices over decades. SUCI is defending the flag of leftism from being defiled by the fake leftists.

History stands witness to this truth and no amount of slanders can wipe it out.

The real test of leftism is now when the bourgeoisie as a part of its design to bring all out fascism have struck heavily on the minimum, fundamental and inalienable rights of the oppressed to organise their opposition to the barbarities of moribund capitalism. They plan to make people's rights, human rights, non-existent. The Bombay convention of eight Central Trade Unions charted the path of united movement to which, like us, CPI (M) was also a party. What happened

to them since then to back out from this course?

We appeal to the leaderships of these parties to strain their efforts for unity, not for disunity. We appeal to the rank and file workers of these parties to ponder deeply the gravity of the situation and work for unity from grass root level. We appeal to the democratic minded, freedom loving, patriotic people to realise that the choice is very limited—either surrender to the forces of reaction and pay the price as did the people in other lands or to stand up in united defence of their right and dignity, when there is yet time.

Interception of Mail, Telephone

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even the minimum civil liberties are gone? It is only the genuine revolutionary party that can stand by the masses in the battle to uphold the civil liberties. Today the SUCI, is the only such party that calls upon the people to build up an integrated, consistent and powerful mass movement against the undemocratic measures.

It should be clearly understood that curtailment of democratic right cannot be resisted through petitions, legalistic approach or legal quibbles—only a conscious mass

movement acting as the conscience of the society against the fascistic onslaughts can foil the design of the ruling bourgeoisie.

Today in India, Water-gate type happenings are common. If this trend goes on unresisted, the whole country will become a vast prison, with the last vestiges of democratic norms and civil liberties blotted out. Will the left and democratic forces stand as silent spectators or will they come forward, join hands and unitedly build up a mighty wave of democratic movement to protect, preserve and extend the people's inalienable civil rights and liberties?

Left Parties decide to build up movement Against Price-rise, ESMO etc.

Gouhati 5th Sept. '81 :

Under the auspices of five left parties of Assam—SUCI, CPI, CPI (M), RCPI and RSP a convention against rising prices and the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance was held on the 30th August '81 at the Nabin Bordoloi Hall here with more than thousand delegates present.

At the start of the meeting Comrade Promode Gagoi, Secretary of the Assam State Council of CPI placed the main resolution. In support of the main resolution spoke Comrades Baneswar Saikia (RCPI), Hemen Das (CPI M), Indrajit Some (RSP). While addressing the meeting on behalf of SUCI, Comrade Asit Bhattacharjee, Secretary, Assam State Committee of our party and a renowned mass leader of the state said that the rise of prices of essential commodities in the country is nothing new. The long pursued policy of the Congress both at the Centre and in Assam and

other bourgeois petty-bourgeois parties, their policy of deficit financing, imposing increasingly heavy burden of taxation on the common people, unabated appeasement of the hoarders and black marketeers, black money operators and the capitalist class as a whole have been responsible for the present situation. The capitalist class through such a price rise and inflation is passing the buck of crisis in production system on to the common people.

We demand of the government to take responsibility of supplying the people with the essential commodities including food grains after taking over both wholesale and retail trade in such articles of consumption.

Comrade Bhattacharjee pointed out that due to absence of united left and democratic movement on these urgent problems in people's life ruling capitalist class is taking advantage to fleece the people mercilessly.

Therefore, Comrade Bhattacharjee appealed to the left and democratic parties and the working people to build up mighty wave of movement to change the situation.

Comrade Jainal Abedin, SUCI's MLA in Assam also spoke. A 7-point resolution was adopted at the meeting which inter alia called upon the people to observe 25th September, '81 as state wide 'Demand Day.'

- * Scrap curtailment of education policy.
- * Provide equal opportunities, encouragement and patronage for the unhindered development of all regional languages.
- * Make the mother tongue medium of instruction and retain compulsorily the teaching of English from primary to degree stage
- * Resist snatching of freedom and autonomy of the educational institutions.
- * We demand education be made democratic, scientific, secular and for all.

Raise your voice of protest against the anti-people language and education policies of the Central and State Governments and make the

All India Seminar a success

At Constitution Club Hall, Delhi

On 26th September, '81.

Distinguished educationists, litterateurs, journalists and persons interested in education are expected to participate.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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